

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 HA-05 ACDA-12 OMB-01 IO-13  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /109 W  
-----124060 191214Z /64

R 190926Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8938  
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11135

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: CH, JA  
SUBJECT: PFT

REF: A. PEKING 1835; B. PEKING 1826

1. IN JUNE 16 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, MOFA CHINA  
DIVISION DIRECTOR TAJIMA PROFESSED OPTIMISM CONCERNING  
OUTCOME OF RESUMED PFT TALKS (AS HE CONSISTENTLY HAS IN  
PAST, WHEN IT INVARIABLY WAS MISPLACED). TAJIMA SAID HE  
EXPECTED SATO TO RETURN TO PEKING AROUND JUNE 26, AFTER  
APPROXIMATELY ONE WEEK'S CONSULTATION IN TOKYO. ASIAN  
AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRGEN NAKAE, ACCOMPANIED BY TAJIMA, WOULD  
FOLLOW HIM TO PEKING IN EARLY JULY TO ASSIST IN RESUMED  
"WORKING LEVEL" TALKS. WHILE DURATION AND RESULT OF  
THOSE TALKS WAS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT, TAJIMA VENTURED GUESS  
THAT THEY WOULD LAST NO MORE THAN WEEK AND WOULD SUCCEED  
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IN RESOLVING ALL BUT MOST FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES, FOR WHICH  
MINISTERIAL NEGOTIATION WOULD BE REQUIRED.

2. TAJIMA SAID WORKING-LEVEL TALKS WOULD DEAL WITH  
WORDING OF TREATY ITSELF (I.E., ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE), BUT  
INDICATED CONTENT OF JAPANESE PUBLIC INTERPRETATION OF  
TREATY WOULD ALSO BE ADDRESSED. FOCUS WOULD BE ON

DEFINITIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF ANTI-HEGEMONY AND RELATED QUESTIONS. JAPANESE HAVE CONCLUDED FROM STATEMENTS MADE TO RESENT JAPANESE VISITORS (E.G., NLC DELEGATION) AS WELL AS VICE MINISTER HAN STATEMENTS TO SATO IN THEIR LAST MEETING, THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DRAFT UNILATERAL INTERPRETATION OF ANTI-HEGEMONY SUITABLE FOR JAPANESE DOMESTIC PURPOSES WHICH WOULD NOT BE CONTRADICTED BY PEKING. (TAJIMA SAID HAN HAD REITERATED TO SATO IN LAST MEETING THAT CHINESE RECOGNIZED JAPAN WOULD PURSUE POLICY TOWARD USSR UNRELATED TO ITS POLICY TOWARD PRC, AND HAD AFFIRMED THAT ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE DID NOT IMPLY NEED FOR JOINT JAPAN-CHINA ACTION AGAINST HEGEMONIC POWER.)

3. TAJIMA DID NOT BELIEVE DIET PASSAGE OF KOREAN CONTINENTAL SHELF LEGISLATION WOULD IMPEDE PFT TALKS. HE SAID MOFA EXPECTED FORMAL PRC PROTEST (THUS FAR ONLY REACTION HAS BEEN NCNA PIECE WHICH REFERRED TO MAY 10 PROTEST), PROBABLY AFTER CABINET VALIDATION OF LEGISLATION, BUT DOUBTED THAT IT WOULD BE STRONG ENOUGH TO COMPLICATE RESUMPTION OF PFT NEGOTIATIONS. TAJIMA DID NOT EXPECT CHINESE TO RAISE SENKAKUS IN RESUMED TALKS, AND JAPANESE SIDE WOULD NOT. JAPANESE WOULD, IN WORKING-LEVEL TALKS, RAISE SINO-SOVIET TREATY, LAST FORMALLY TAKEN UP IN MIYAZAWA-CHIAO KUAN-HUA MEETING IN 1975. TAJIMA SAID JAPANESE EXPECTED SAME NONCOMMITAL RESPONSE RECEIVED THEN, TO EFFECT THAT TREATY WAS DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE SO WHY  
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WORRY, BUT HAD TO MAKE DEMARCHE TO SATISFY CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF DIET.

4. SHOULD SITUATION DEVELOP AS TAJIMA HOPED IT WILL, SONODA WOULD TRAVEL TO PEKING SHORTLY AFTER HIS RETURN FROM BONN SUMMIT. (PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA TOLD PRESS JUNE 17 THAT HE MIGHT SEND SONODA TO PEKING BEFORE BONN.) TAJIMA SAID FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD HOPE, AS HE HAD STATED TO PRESS, TO HAVE BROAD-RANGING TOUR D'HORIZON BEFORE TAKING UP QUESTION OF TREATY AND ANTI-HEGEMONY, IN ORDER TO PUT LATTER ISSUE IN CONTEXT. IF ANTI-HEGEMONY ISSUE WERE RESOLVED, TAJIMA THOUGHT ONE FINAL ROUND OF WORKING-LEVEL TALKS WOULD FOLLOW TO TIDY UP LANGUAGE.

5. COMMENT: WHILE FOREGOING SCENARIO SEEMS PLAUSIBLE, MAJOR DETERMINANTS ARE STILL UNKNOWN: WHETHER CHINESE WILL BE AS COOPERATIVE AS TAJIMA HOPES WITH RESPECT TO JAPANESE EFFORTS TO MUFFLE EFFECTS OF ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE, AND WHETHER PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE TALKS TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. FUKUDA'S ATTITUDE REMAINS SUBJECT OF MUCH SPECULATION AND CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM. HE HAS VIGOROUSLY DENIED THAT HE WOULD CONTEMPLATE

RESUMING TALKS WITHOUT MAKING COMMITMENT TO CONCLUDE THEM. IN REMARKS TO FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS CLUB JUNE 19 HE CHARACTERIZED UPCOMING ROUND OF TALKS AS "OPPORTUNITY NOT TO BE MISSED" AND "FIRST NEGOTIATIONS WORTHY OF NAME" SINCE NORMALIZATION IN 1972. HE HAS ALSO, HOWEVER, OBSERVED THAT "NOT ONLY FUKUDA, BUT CHAIRMAN HUA MUST RESOLVE" TO DO DEED, AND HAS EMPHASIZED NEED FOR "MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY" RESULT. MANSFIELD

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## Message Attributes

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